

BULLETIN

OF THE

SOCIAL

LABOR MOVEMENT.

Send all Moneys and Correspondence to PHILIP VAN PATTEN, Box 597, Detroit, Mich.

Issued Monthly by the National Executive Committee of the Socialistic Labor Party.

SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

The National Executive Committee to all Members and Friends of the Party.

Comrades.—In its report to our last Party Convention at Alleghany, Penn., the National Executive Committee observed that "the progress of Socialism cannot be measured by the number of votes cast for our humble ticket, but rather by the extent to which the public has become enlightened as to our principles." Since the adjournment of that convention those principles have been endorsed by over 300,000 votes. The declarations that "Civil Government should guarantee the right of every laborer to the results of his toil" and that "Labor should be so protected by National and State authority as to equalize its burdens and insure a just distribution of its results," and that "Land, Light, Air and Water are the free gifts of Nature to all mankind" have been published at least once by the entire capitalistic press and during the campaign in over one thousand papers devoted to the Greenback Party. For having by its influence caused such a magnificent advertisement of those principles, an achievement all the more to our credit, in that we have held our organization intact, and have maintained our radical position, our little Party may well be proud!

The old guard has stood firm and undaunted in the face of attacks from external and internal enemies fiercer than ever threatened any similar organization. The campaign is over. Let us forget, in the triumphant progress of the future, the sad occurrences of the past. Let those who proved false in the hour of danger, retire for silent meditation, and let those who honestly disagreed with the course of the Party acknowledge that they misunderstood us. We shall dispute no longer, but let our record answer for us. Hereafter our time shall be devoted to the task of drawing into our ranks the thousands of radical thinkers who have learned to know us, and who will join us when they become convinced that we can maintain among ourselves the same order and discipline that we recommend to the world. And now as to our future course with reference to the Greenback or other half-way parties. Those who have steadily confided in our integrity need no explanation, but to those who are still doubtful we will state that we shall in future as in the past, execute the measures ordered by the Party, and unless otherwise directed by that highest of all authorities, the general vote of our membership shall observe strictly the letter of the Constitution.

There must always be an advance guard battling for *complete emancipation* and *absolute self-government* of the people, and the true Socialist must ever be in that advance guard. Progress will sweep away one after another the oppressive institutions that now flourish, the ameliorative measures now advocated in our platform may all be practically adopted, yet we will still find ourselves only on the threshold of that perfect temple of human liberty toward which we are struggling. Already those ameliorative demands find hosts of supporters, and as "half-way parties" adopt them and secure their fulfilment, we must steadily advance to more radical ground. The law of Eminent Domain must now be proclaimed in every commonwealth in order that in obedience thereto the National Government may be

authorized to obtain possession of and operate the railroads and telegraph lines, issue all money, and direct all banking and insurance, and regulate commerce between the States by establishing a system of equitable exchange, the State or Corporation shall become the Landlord, shall organize industry, and shall guarantee to every willing worker the opportunity to labor to the best advantage both to himself and to the community.

From external enemies we fear nothing, and will merely reply to those so-called "Socialists" who denounce us as "compromisers" that we regret the shortsightedness of those who consider it criminal to endorse our own principles when incorporated in the platform of another political party, even though that party is thereby compelled to progress in our direction and to defend our own principles. And now let us go to work! There are four districts, each containing many sections, waiting impatiently for capable speakers to stir up the movement.

We now call upon all able speakers willing to travel, to forward their names and state the amounts asked for expenses. Instructions for district agitation will be published in the BULLETIN and the German Party papers, as also the list of speakers willing to travel. We are about to issue a new lot of tracts, (having relieved the late Tract Association of that duty) and recommend their purchase in large quantities for free distribution as the best and cheapest mode of agitation.

Dr. Stiebeling is engaged in publishing his new pamphlets, Mr. Gronlund will issue a revised edition of the "Coming Revolution," and our Committee is preparing a thorough explanation of our Platform and principles, for publication in tract form. Best news of all is that our comrades in New York are about to establish a fine daily and weekly paper in the English language. Let us all commence a vigorous revival now, and in the glorious successes of the future forget the mistakes of the past! Before closing this appeal we would remind our members and friends that a multitude of our comrades have been driven from Germany for defending our cause, and are flocking to America to find a refuge among us. They are nearly all penniless and in need of assistance. Let our aid be as prompt and generous as their suffering is great. Contributions should be forwarded without delay and their collection should be regular and systematic. No further appeal should be necessary. Let us prove to the world that our cause is international, and that we know how to protect our friends.

Owing to the many appeals for assistance from our associates in America and Europe, claims that our resources cannot fully meet, we are unable to render the support properly due the champions of human rights in Ireland, where the Land Question, most important to all social reformers, is now being practically settled.

The struggle is everywhere being vigorously conducted; in Russia, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, England and Ireland the camp fires of Socialism are burning.

The statesmen of the civilized world are fast learning that there can be no peace until just relations are established between man and man.

America, foremost of Nations, and the greatest of all Republics, should set the example. What socialist who can read the signs of the times, dare sleep or yield to despair at a moment like this? Who is not with us, is against us.

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

PHILIP VAN PATTEN, Sec.

DETROIT, Mich., Jan. 1, 1881.

FOREIGN.

Ireland.—The State trials are over, and resulted in disagreement of the jury. Defence was able to excite so much sympathy that the Government is heartily sick of the whole affair. Meanwhile the Land League is rapidly gaining ground in Ulster and all Orange districts, to the dismay of those who sought to keep up religious divisions. "Boycotting" of landlords is the rule throughout the country and extends even to the isolation and ostracism of priests who endeavor to oppose the popular movement.

"The land for the people," is the cry and it must prove irresistible.

Germany.—Since the "free" city of Hamburg was declared in a state of siege, the persecution of all known and suspected Socialists has been vigorous and relentless. Otto Reimer, Max Stoehr, Schweppendieck and many other prominent comrades have been exiled and are now in America. Leipzig will be the next point of attack, and a wholesale expulsion of Socialists will follow.

Bismarck forgets, however, that the world looks upon his course as a confession that he acknowledges his inability to defeat our principles by argument, and resorts to the policy of all brutal cowards. The contributions to the relief fund are very large but the emergency is too great for the resources of the German Socialists, hampered by police supervision, and the American sympathizers are anxiously looked to for support.

France.—Blanqui, the famous revolutionist, died at Paris on New Year's day. He was the terror of the Monarchists and Bourgeois Republicans, having been prominent in every popular revolt since 1827. He has been three times under sentence of death, and spent thirty-seven years of his life in prison, but the old hero was never dismayed nor subdued.

The Socialist Congress at Havre which was in session from the 14th to the 22d of November, began in the most serious disorder, and after a fierce dispute over the admission of many delegates of the Revolutionary groups (most of whom were proxy delegates), the fire-eating element withdrew and organized a separate convention. The strife was mainly due to the differences of opinion upon the question of the measures most applicable to present conditions in society. The reformers, constituting the principal congress, held that the exercise of universal suffrage, securing proper legislation, is the only reasonable means of reorganizing society. They favored collective ownership of the means of production, but individual ownership of the results, by the producers. They also demand legal recognition of trade unions and reform of the laws of arbitration, legal protection of co-operative associations and the usual ameliorative reforms advocated by the Socialists in all countries.

The congress of the "revolutionists" demanded the establishment of community in *all things, by all possible means*. Upon this question a resolution in favor of individual ownership of personal property, but collective ownership of the means of production, was rejected by a vote of 53 to 3. The "revolutionists" further adopted resolutions favoring the establishment of permanent strike committees to prepare for the Social Revolution, the enactment of laws fixing the minimum of wages of workmen, all children to be taken charge of and educated by the State, abolishment of the laws of indirect heritage (right of bequest to other than blood relations), the right of inheritance in direct line (within the family) to be limited to 20,000 francs (\$4000.00), and confiscation of the property of all religious congregations. A number of ameliorative measures were also endorsed. The advocates of this "revolutionary" school oppose political action and denounce the political Socialists as "stumbling-blocks in the way of progress." The fury of the fire-eaters is not, however, equalled by their strength, and while during a revolutionary out-break they are indispensable, yet in time of peace they are noisy nuisances when sensible political work is attempted, however valuable they may be as agitators in the narrow circles of their acquaintances.

The trades assemblies of the various cities are considering the question of holding a National convention or trades congress, for the purpose of forming a National federation. Such assemblies are now formed in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Pittsburg, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, Denver and San Francisco, and others are being formed in a dozen additional cities.

SOCIALISM AND THE ANARCHISTS.

Socialism signifies the principle in human relations that all matters affecting society should be subject to regulation and control by society. The condition and actions of the individual to be the concern of the group or community in so far as said condition and actions affect the community, and no further; the condition and actions of the community to be the concern of the State in so far as they affect the State, but no further; and the affairs of the State to be the concern of the Nation in so far as they affect the Nation, but no further; The affairs of the nation to be the concern of the combined Nations, to the same extent, but no further. The combination of individuals forming the community must for their own protection invoke the power and authority of the community to guarantee to each individual the full enjoyments of his rights. The combination of communities forming the State must in the same way uphold the rights of each community, and the State the same within the Nation. So must the alliance of the Nations protect each Nation in its individual rights. The power given to the instrument or agent of each combination to protect every member of this combination, is called Authority.

So much for Socialism. And now, what is Anarchism? Exactly the opposite to Socialism in every particular. As the original Greek words signify, the Anarchist is one who repudiates all authority, personal or collective, either assumed or delegated. Socialists uphold the law of Eminent Domain; the Anarchists resist it.

Socialists, like the Anarchists, repudiate personal authority but maintain that of the people. Anarchists deny the authority over its members of even the simplest group. A witty writer has said that Anarchism is Socialism gone to seed! But the true Socialist is as hostile to the Anarchist as is truth to falsehood. Communism is the extreme of collectivism, Anarchism the extreme of individualism.

Socialism is the happy medium, using all that is good of both and avoiding the extremes. The individual Anarchist proposes to unite with others only when his own forces are not adequate to his aims, and then only with those whose interests and aims correspond with his own. As the group is the primary form of organization, it is unnecessary to discuss the practicability of further combinations, when we can show that the group itself on anarchistic principles would be a hot-house exotic. The group could take no action affecting its individual members, without the full consent of each and every one of them!

A single discontented, ignorant, spiteful or dyspeptic member could block all business! Your Anarchist will submit to no majority rule! The Anarchistic groups in a Federation (if a federation of even a dozen groups could be established as an experiment), would be held down by a single group, no matter how insignificant, until reason would resume its sway and the despotism of a minority, the most ridiculous of all despotisms (unless it be that of the newly arrived infant in a household, needing to be humored and coaxed) could be repudiated!

The Anarchists dare to call themselves "Socialists!" What is the grasping capitalist if not an Anarchist? Does he not say, "hands off!"? *Laissez faire! Laissez aller!* Do not the upholders of the infamous profit-taking system insist that Society has no right to meddle with individual affairs, no right to prevent the barbarous plundering of one another that makes men all claws and stomach, like the crab or the devil fish?

The very formation of a group is an attack upon Anarchy, just as the formation of a trade union or co-operative association is an attack upon capitalism. The Anarchist proposes to use society for his own benefit, but perform no duties in return. One of the New England Anarchists once refused to pay his taxes, but when his house should catch fire, or the thieves should break in, or should a neighbor carry off his crops, he would be clamorous for the protection and aid of Society!

The present Chief of the Bureau of the Labor Statistics of Ohio, Mr. Harry J. Walls, is to be removed by Governor Foster to make way for a Republican. The Trades Assembly of Cincinnati, the president of the Iron Moulders' Union of North America and many other labor organizations and prominent labor advocates have petitioned for the retention of Mr. Walls, whose reports have been noted for their accuracy and truthfulness, but what do the petitions of laboring men amount to? When will they cease begging and use their ballots?

IMPORTANT JUDICIAL DECISION.

Iron Molder's Journal.

On the 2d of October, the molders in the Johnson Harvester Company's shop, in Brockport, N. Y., struck for an advance in wages, in order to bring them up to the prices paid in other shops in that city. The company refused to comply with the demand of the molders, and sent out agents to secure molders from other parts of the country. But as soon as they would arrive in Brockport, and were informed of the strike, they would return home or leave for some other part of the country. If they had not the means to return, the molders on strike would furnish them the means, knowing that they were induced to come there on false representations.

The company finding that they could not keep the molders after they got them to Brockport, got out an injunction to prevent the members of Union No. 86, of Brockport, from "interfering in any manner with their business."

The molders employed attorney Cochrane, one of the ablest lawyers in that part of the State, to argue the case before Judge Macomber, of the Supreme Court. The Judge refused to grant the injunction, and put the cost of court on the company. The decision is a very important one, involving as it does the constitutional rights of workingmen.

The Judge, in giving his decision, stated that the strike mentioned was preceded by an order of the plaintiff reducing the wages of the iron molders who are defendants; also, that the molders, then and since in the employ of the plaintiff, had not contracted their services to the plaintiff for any stated length of time, but that, on the contrary, they were at work by the day or piece. The orderly and peaceable assembling and co-operation of persons employed in any profession, trade or handicraft, for the purpose of securing an advance in the rate of wages or compensation, or for the maintenance of such right, is now permitted by statute, (chapter 19, laws of 1870.)

The court holds that the mere enticing of laborers who are not of the class of domestic servants from the employ or from entering the employ of a concern, is legal, and adds: "As is well known, the origin of this kind of action was at the time of the substantial enslavement of domestic servants, and at the outset it proceeded upon the theory that such servants had not the freedom of action which is conceded to that class at the present day. I am disinclined to extend by any judgment of mine the doctrine of recovery for enticing away servants, when both in fact and in theory the person enticed is a free agent to come and go as he will, responsible only like other persons for a violation of his contract or his duty."

The fact that there are vast accumulations of capital directed toward the development of the resources of nature and of trade in this country, having the advantages of aggregated wealth, would probably, if not certainly, have a tendency to induce laborers also to combine for their own protection. Capital would seek to obtain the cheapest labor, and unless resisted by something more than the old methods before the breakdown of ancient industrial systems, would almost inevitably succeed in disturbing its relationship to labor, to the detriment of the community. It is, I think, that for such reasons trades unions were organized, and for such reasons is it, if at all, that their policy can, or on principles of political economy ought to be recognized and sustained."

The decision is looked upon as a very important one, and is a hard one for the company to swallow.

The Apostate's Creed.

"I believe in a chaotic nebula self-existent evolver of heaven and earth."

"And in the differentiation of this original homogeneous mass. It's first-begotten product which was self-formed into separate worlds, divided into land and water, self-organized into plants and animals, reproduced in like species, further developed into higher orders, and finally refined, rationalized, and perfected in man. He descended from the monkey, ascended to the philosopher, and sitteth down in the rites and customs of civilization under the laws of a developing sociology. From thence he shall come again by the disintegration of the culminated heterogeneousness, back into the original homogeneousness of chaos."

"I believe in the wholly impersonal absolute, the wholly un-catholic church, the disunion of the saints, the survival of the fittest, the persistence of force, the dispersion of the body, and in death everlasting.—*New York Independent.*"

The following are the principal Socialistic journals and periodicals published in foreign countries:

England.—The "Labor News," "Secular Review," "National Reformer" (Bradlaugh's), "Republican National Independent," "Die Freiheit" (Johann Most's), "Le Travail," (all issued in London.)

France.—"L'Egalite," "Le Proletaire," "La Philosophie de l'Avenir," "Revue du Mouvement Social," "La Revue Socialiste" (all published in Paris), "La Reforme" (Guise), "La Federation" (Marseilles.)

Switzerland.—"Les Etats Unis d'Europe," "Le Revolte," "Le Precurseur" (Geneva), "Die Tagwacht," "Der Sozial Demokrat" (Zurich.)

Spain.—"La Revista Social" (Barcelona.)

Portugal.—"O Protesto" (Lisbon), "L'Operario" (Porto.)

Italy.—"La Rivista del Socialismo," "La Plebe" (Milan.)

Hungary.—"Arbeiter Wochen Cronik" (Budapest.)

Holland.—"Werkmansbode" (Amsterdam.)

Belgium.—"Werker" (Anvers), "Volkswil" (Ghent), "Le Reveil" (Seraing), "Le Typographe" "Voix de l'ouvrier," (Brussels.)

Coercive Measures.

A Galveston Irishman has a very bright boy, who reads the papers. The other morning the old man asked Patrick junior why he didn't return the change from the marketing. There was no answer except that the boy muttered, "The toirant!"

"Have you fed the pig, Patrick?"

A stony stare was the only reply. Then for about fifteen minutes there was a vision of a son closely pursued by a bareheaded father revolving around the house, until the former overtook the latter and yanked him over a water-barrel.

"I was only trying Boycott on yez, fayther! For the sake of ould Ireland, lave me alone."

"It's a boy caught ye are," panted the old man. "I'll tache you to thrife with a home-ruler," and he reached out.

The application of coercive measures could be heard four blocks off.—*Galveston News.*

SUBJECTS FOR DEBATE IN LABOR LYCEUMS.

- The relation of Socialism to the Trade Unions.
- The power of Association.
- The duty of Government to organize equitable exchange.
- State aid to co-operative associations.
- The Initiative and the Referendum.
- What should be private property?
- What constitutes value?
- Land ownership. The State to be the Landlord.
- Competition vs. co-operation.
- The Eight Hour Movement.
- Governmental Ministry of Education and Labor.
- Money—its nature, uses and powers.

Postoffice Savings Banks.

The post offices in the Paris postal districts are to undertake the business of departmental savings banks. The system has long been in force in the French provinces, and continual efforts, hitherto unavailing, have been made to secure the same benefit for Paris. The building in the Rue Coq-Heron which is used as the central office of these savings banks is one of some historical interest. It was in time of Louis XV. the residence of the "Fermier-General," Thoignard de Voulo. It is a remarkable fact that during the time of the Commune this office was uninterfered with, and only closed its doors for a single day, when a barricade was constructed close beneath its windows. Next day the barricade was abandoned and the clerks returned to their work. So great was the faith in the sacredness of the building that crowds of people deposited their money there rather than keep it in their own hands. The extent to which the departmental savings banks are made use of may be gathered from the returns of the department of the Seine-Inferieure. On the 31st of December last the number of depositors in this department was 123,926, and the amount of their deposits \$7,445,197, being an increase of 14,408 depositors and \$1,986,549 since the corresponding date in 1878.

BULLETIN OF THE SOCIAL LABOR MOVEMENT

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE
SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

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CLEARING THE WAY FOR SOCIALISM!

While the great majority of workingmen are rapidly becoming mere attachments to the machinery of their employers, and are toiling on patiently without a hope of future emancipation, while the financial reformers are spending their time in discussing the interest paid to bondholders, and the Socialists themselves are kept busy in suppressing personal squabbles raised by would-be leaders, Socialistic institutions are being established without their help, the principles thereby demonstrated finding their way rapidly to public favor.

Since the reformers who desire the railroads and telegraph lines placed under Governmental control are not yet ready to accomplish practical work, Jay Gould is going to do it all for us. He has now obtained possession of the majority of the railroads in America, an enterprise stupendous in itself, and not satisfied with this achievement he has gobbled up all the telegraph lines. What does all this signify to Socialists? It means that when Gould proves to the American people that all vast public institutions can be run most profitably and systematically under one management, and that the power thus obtained can and will be used to reduce our National and State Governments to the condition of mere agencies of the great monopoly to protect the property and interests of the same, and with a large standing army to keep down the people (under Gen. Grant, as Jay Gould desires); when the National Banks "have their machinery so well organized that within twenty-four hours they can defeat any act of Congress," (as Jay Gould predicted they would) then will the people curse their folly, their stupidity, and lack of foresight, and by a supreme effort they will cast off their chains and assert their sovereignty.

While the monopolies were under various heads, no matter how small the number, the people would not learn. In order to teach us, Jay Gould takes all the monopolies into his own hands. All hail Jay Gould and Prince Bismarck, the two most active and able Socialists in the World's history!

WHAT IS REVOLUTION?

The evils that now afflict society are due to ignorance and indifference on the part of those who could accomplish any desired reforms.

To cause a change of public opinion is revolution in the truest sense. Wherever universal suffrage offers the means of expressing public opinion, the most thorough and radical revolutions are possible.

Those whose only idea of revolution is resistance by armed force to the public officers whose only authority comes from the majority of the people are unworthy the respect or confidence of Socialists. To convince people is to conquer them. To temporarily overpower without convincing them, delays instead of hastening the ultimate triumph of any cause. "When a truth can be demonstrated, force is unnecessary. When a truth cannot be demonstrated, an appeal to force is infamous. In the presence of the unknown, all have an equal right to think."

OH, YES! THEY "PROTEST!"

It need not be supposed that the small-fry bankers, bondholders, speculators and other thieves who have been left in the shade, while Jay Gould grasps the glittering prizes, are going to gulp down their sorrow in silence. They have not the manhood of the poor gambler who can lose his last red with dignity. They "kick like steers," appeal in the name of public interests, republican institutions etc., to stop the monopoly! But their protests arise only from envy and disappointment. Who is foolish enough to suppose that they care anything for "republican institutions"? We read that since Gould's triumph electrified the nation, his outstripped competitors are serving injunctions, howling for a new line, invoking the interference of government, and what not.

In Congress a resolution has been offered by Representative Ford, of Missouri (whose election was largely due to the efforts of Comrade McGuire), requesting the Committee on Postoffice and Postroads to report a bill "for the construction of such telegraph lines as may be necessary to protect the people from monopoly." A resolution offered by Representative Springer instructs the same committee to inquire into the expediency of establishing by law a telegraphic postal system under the Government, and also as to the cost of reproducing facilities for transmitting telegraphic messages equal to those of existing corporations. This last resolution has been reported upon favorably. Representative Ellis has introduced a bill which provides for the use of a line between Washington and Boston, with officers at intermediate cities, as an experiment in connection with the Post-office Department. It is thought that this also will be favorably reported upon in a few days, and may pass at the present session.

THE CHICAGO "VORBOTE."

The circumstances which caused the repudiation of the above named weekly, as an organ of our Party, were brought about, much to our regret, by the publishers of that paper, and we consider their present misfortunes to have been self-inflicted. We are still ready to welcome it back to our ranks as soon as it will agree to respect as we do the expressed will of the Party, shown by the general vote of all members.

Meanwhile we are compelled to condemn its dishonorable course in publishing as a last resort, a sensational statement that our English speaking members of Chicago have organized a separate movement, hostile to Trade Unions and the struggle for economical emancipation. The Secretary writes us that they have merely formed an association called the "Labor Union," for the purpose of supporting a free, non-political Labor Lyceum, where all sides of the question may be discussed by any persons who choose to visit the meetings.

We have the same arrangement in Cincinnati, Detroit, and other places. They are aids to the Sections, not hostile to them, and are not committed to any special principles except freedom of discussion. At its first meetings the trades unions were challenged to defend their conservative, non-progressive course, and several speakers criticised severely the unions as now managed, but the speakers were alone responsible for their views. Gruenhut, the man most denounced by the *Vorbote*, was but lately writing editorials for it, and there was then no objection to him. At the same time we also know Gruenhut to be an unprincipled scamp, but on the floor of the Lyceum he had the same right to speak that any one else has, and could not be prevented. The Lyceum is not responsible for any of the opinions expressed by speakers.

The members of the English Section have never said that Labor and Capital should harmonize under the Wage System, and they laugh at the accusation of the *Vorbote*. The reason why meetings are conducted in this way above described is because they can draw in strangers who would not attend exclusive Socialistic meetings. Our English members stand by our Party just the same, and pay their dues. The Section is rapidly growing and another new German Branch has sent in its dues.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTIONISTS.

THE National Executive Committee has received the following communication, which explains itself:

PHILADELPHIA, January 17th, 1881.

PHILIP VAN PATTEN, *Comrade*:—Will you please have the National Executive Committee officially decide the following question: Can members of the so-called "Socialist Revolutionary Club" belong to the Section of the Socialistic Labor Party? Please answer immediately and oblige

Yours, fraternally, S. WALDMANN.

Our direct reply to Comrade Waldmann is this: Members of our Party have a perfect right to belong to any association, of whatever nature, *provided* that the principles, public declarations, official actions, and the Constitution of such association do not conflict with the Platform, Constitution and Resolutions of the Socialistic Labor Party. Whether or not the so-called Socialist Revolutionary Club is an organization hostile to our Party, we are not prepared to positively state. Certainly, we do know that the Club of that name in New York, as well as the one in Philadelphia, was organized with the aid of Hasselmann, the ex-member of the German Reichstag who was expelled from the Socialistic Party of Germany for his incendiary speeches against universal suffrage and representative government. We also know that a number of speeches delivered before those two clubs, favored military organization, and the study of revolutionary tactics, and opposed political action. The fact that such speeches are the rule and not the exception in those gatherings indicates a tendency contrary to the policy of our Party. Not having seen the platform or constitution of either club, we have not the official information to justify decisive action by our Committee. The sections in those cities should, however, lose no time in ascertaining the facts and acting as the circumstances may warrant. We do not believe it worth while to dispute with the so-called "Revolutionists." When they have no one else to quarrel with they will eat each other up. They are not nearly as dangerous as their wild talk would make them appear, and so long as our sections are careful to keep them out of official positions and to reject their incendiary resolutions, they had best be let alone. But should they dare to interfere with the political policy of our Party, or to compromise the name of Socialism by any gunpowder plots or other follies, they should be crushed without mercy! When the Republican Party in this country wishes to carry an election, paid emissaries are sent into the Southern States to publish newspapers like the *Okolona States*, filled with violent rebel denunciations of the Union, and swearing that "the South shall yet be free!" These newspaper articles are, of course, carefully copied by all Northern Republican papers, and people are frightened into the belief that the war must be fought over again if the Democratic ticket should be elected.

As the Socialist movement becomes a power, the capitalistic enemies, finding that open opposition only strengthens that movement, cunningly adopt the plan of sending their tools among us to shout revolution and clamor for blood. There is every evidence to prove that such a scheme is now being systematically carried out. We are collecting all needed information. We rely upon the good sense of our members to avoid any personal controversies concerning these questions, but to guard carefully their business meetings. Within our ranks is complete democratic control, full liberty of discussion and every legitimate means necessary to accomplish our ends. Only dishonest men can seek to break down that unity.

PARTY NEWS

Boston.—The Section here is in a state of confusion, owing to the misleading speeches of an impracticable Anarchistic doctor, who, at his own expense, has commenced publication of a wild revolutionary magazine, filled with rules for the construction of barricades and other nonsense. This mysterious individual has converted to his purposes a writer on Socialism, well known to the readers of the *Irish World* as "the man who exhausts the printers' cases of all their cap I's." Mr. Morsecan congratulates himself that his individualistic arguments have conquered his former opponent. Wonders will never cease! But we don't think our Section will suffer much.

Meriden, Conn.—Connections have been established with Hartford, New Haven and Bridgeport, for the purpose of systematic agitation. A speaker will be put on the road and will visit each place in turn. This is a move that should be imitated by all Sections in the country that are near enough together.

New York.—The arrival from Germany of large numbers of exiled Socialists, has given the Section plenty to do in the way of holding meetings and stirring up enthusiasm. The fair held in December, for the accumulation of funds with which to start a fine English paper, is reported quite successful. Comrade Jonas has departed for Europe, where he will take some much needed rest. The daily German paper is now secure and on a paying basis.

Brooklyn.—A co-operative association in the grocery business is being planned and will be, if successful, enlarged in scope to undertake a number of other enterprises, and work in connection with a sick benefit fund. The Section does not officially control the affair, but members of the Party will furnish the principal support.

Philadelphia.—The daily paper is reported in a flourishing condition and was the first in the city to raise the wages of German printers. The so-called "Social Revolutionary Club" is making as much noise as a fly in a bottle, but as all Socialists who understand American institutions will have nothing to do with a concern that opposes legislative reform, the membership of the club is confined entirely to unnaturalized foreigners and cannot amount to much.

Detroit.—Here the Socialists have busied themselves with the work of reviving the Trade Unions, and through our exertions there is now one of the finest and by all odds the liveliest Trades Councils in the country. Since November, Comrades Dolan and Van Patten have organized seven unions, and with the assistance of Comrade O'Neill (our new Section organizer), twelve unions in all have been added to the list, making twenty-four now in the Council. Bills for presentation to the Legislature have been adopted by the Council, covering the subjects of Prison Labor, Children's Labor, Compulsory Education, and the proposed abolishment of the Conspiracy Law. Comrade Simpson, Alderman-elect from the Eleventh Ward, took his seat in the Common Council on the 11th inst., and is getting ready for action.

Comrade Simpson is, however, threatened with loss of his seat by the same sort of fraud that unseated Frank Stauber in Chicago. On the day after the election, the ballot boxes were delivered, properly sealed, to the City Clerk (who, by the way, is a Democrat.) Francis Alter, the defeated Democratic opponent of Simpson, contested the election, and a recount being held, resulted in the finding of a majority of eighty for Alter, a change of ninety-nine votes! But the investigating committee found the boxes with seals altered, destroyed or totally absent, one box being tied with ribbon only; of course Comrade Simpson will not give up his seat without resistance, even to prosecution of the parties responsible for the safe-keeping of the ballot boxes.

Comrades Koennecke and Keitel, two exiles from Germany are with us, and addressed mass meetings which were largely attended.

Our Labor Lyceum is working famously, meetings being held every Sunday afternoon for free discussion. We shall undertake to organize the whole city thoroughly before spring. Comrade Grenell is now in Ionia, Mich., the Tract Association having turned its affairs over to the Section.

Chicago.—The reorganized Section has now three good branches with prospects of two more. Comrade Herzig, of Detroit, will soon visit the city and bring our German members out of the state of confusion under which they now suffer, through the falsehoods and misleading statements of the "Arbeiter Zeitung." The "Labor Union" is intended to be a valuable help to the movement, and is just now engaged in

putting radicalism into the Trade Union men. It is needless to remark that the circular recently issued in the name of the Central Committee was a base forgery put forth by the *Vorbote* people, with the hope of discouraging the Party.

St. Louis.—After a long siege with the "Vorbote" element, the Section has now overcome all difficulties and is holding good meetings. Comrade Max Stoeher, one of the German exiles, and a fine speaker, is drawing large audiences. Comrades Winter, McGuire and Luebker are actively hammering away and the new paper will be issued in March. So that St. Louis may be said to be all "O. K." Comrade Winter is ready to undertake lecturing trips, and we hope soon to have him on the road. The Trades Assembly has made a strenuous opposition to the reappointment of Hilkené as State Commissioner of Labor Statistics, owing to his shameful treatment of Comrade McGuire, whose efforts alone brought the Bureau of Statistics into existence, and saved the first report from being a total failure in Hilkené's hands.

Milwaukee.—The agitation is progressing finely, but the Section is of the opinion that a speaker from some other locality could accomplish a great deal. They offer a good situation and steady work to some exile who is capable of serving as an agitator.

San Francisco.—Comrade Wilson reports that the Branches have consolidated under the old Section arrangement and dropped the "Central Committee." In political campaigns the branches will probably be revived. Comrade Alfred Cridge's new book is attracting attention, and as it is very instructive it should be widely circulated. (See advertisement on another page.)

THE National Board of Supervision has issued an address to the Party, concerning internal affairs. The suspension of Gerhard Lizius, of Indianapolis, for publication of slanderous correspondence against the Party Secretary, was raised, in consequence of apologies offered, in which Comrade Lizius admitted the unconstitutionality of his action and acknowledged that he had no evidence upon which to base his accusations other than the communications published in the *Vorbote* by irresponsible persons. This frank action of Comrade Lizius is deserving of respect, and the Board calls attention to this instance as an example of how unfair and unjust it is on the part of any journal to publish articles which, on their face, show that they are inspired by evil motives. The Board reviews also the history of a disreputable and crack-brained individual in Cincinnati, whose persistent persecution of the Party Secretary had influenced other dyspeptic members to follow his example, and who had been severely condemned by the last Party Congress at Alleghany. The Board further calls upon all Sections to report to the National Executive Committee the total number of votes cast in their respective districts by our members for the Greenback Presidential ticket, and whether, by the alliance, our movement had been benefited or injured in such districts. Where a minority of the Section may differ from the majority upon the reply to the above questions, they should also send in a report, so that all sides may be heard.

BRUTAL.

The Manner in which "Puck" treats the Irish Land Question.

(Answers to Correspondents.)

"*Mulvany.*"—You will have to carry your touching poem about "Erin's Bleeding Heart" a little further along the road. We aren't throbbing responsive to Erin's bleed so much as we were to the sanguinary effusion of Kansas, not by a tank-full.

We don't throb much for people who are free and healthy and yet want to occupy people's houses without paying rent. We are sorry for a man who is willing to earn his living and can't; but we don't see that this condition gives him the right to occupy another man's property without paying for it. If he can't earn the hire of his house, he has to get out of it, that's all. If there is any throbbing to be done, we are going to throb for the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker, who have to go into bankruptcy because they can't collect their bills from the landlord who can't collect his rents from his tenants. That's the size of our throb, *Mulvany*, every time."

JUDGE JERE BLACK'S OPINION ON THE RAILROADS AS PUBLIC HIGHWAYS.

The letter of Judge Black to the New York Chamber of Commerce is already famous. It knocks another prop from under the capitalistic edifice of fraud. We extract the following passages as especially worthy of attention:

The railroad men believe, or pretend to believe, that railroads are the property of the companies authorized to run them, which is a cardinal error and the parent of much false argument. A public highway cannot be private property, and a railroad laid out and built by the authority of the State for the purpose of commerce is as much a public highway as a turnpike road, canal, or navigable river.

It is the duty of the State to promote intercourse and trade, by making highways of the best sort through her territory. To this end she may take land and materials, which is an exercise of the power of eminent domain. She can build a railway at her own expense, using the direct agency of her own officers, and after it is built she can make it free to all comers, or reimburse the cost by special tax on individuals who have occasion to use it. She can delegate the taking and taxing powers to a corporation or a natural person, and that is what she always does when she grants a railroad charter. But in either or any case the road belongs to the State, and all the people have a right to use it upon compliance with the necessary regulations and payment of the proper tax. The corporations which have got the habit of calling themselves the owners of the railroads have no proprietary right, title, or claim to the roads themselves, but a mere franchise annexed to and exercisable thereon. They are the agents of the State for the performance of a public duty. If the franchise be forfeited or surrendered, or if it expire by efflux of time, the State takes possession of the road and runs it herself, or employs a new agent. The company cannot keep the road, any more than an outgoing Collector of a Port can appropriate to himself the Customhouse where he did his official work.

If the company may charge what it pleases them, the road is not a public highway, the public has no rights in it at all, and the charter which authorizes the taking of land to build it is unconstitutional and void. I do not think they are opposed by any high authority, but no doubt they have often been overlooked in judicial decisions and forensic arguments. The railroads being public property, in which all the people have equal rights, and the companies that run them being public agents, it is absurd to say that the State has no right to regulate and control them in the performance of their functions by such laws as will prevent partiality, plunder and extortion. This is power of which no free State can disarm itself by any act of its judicial, legislative, or executive officers. They could as lawfully sell the State out and out and deliver up the entire population to sack and pillage. Those companies will oppose any effort to bring them down to a reasonable rate with the argument that such reduction is a violation of the contract between them and the State. But on the principles laid down by Judge Baldwin in the case above mentioned a charter is inoperative which authorizes a maximum of toll or fare so high that the company is able without exceeding it to exclude the people from using their own road. In the Granger case from Iowa and Wisconsin the bargain was that the companies might fix their own rates. But the Supreme Court of the United States hold that a subsequent law to restrain them within reasonable limits was no violation of the original contract. This principle applies to a company whose maximum rate is unreasonably high, because such a rate is practically the same thing as no limitation at all.

The reasonableness of the freight tolls or taxes that may be charged upon any railway will depend on the expenses of running and repairing it and on the cost of construction. The latter will, of course, be the principal element in the calculation, for the tolls ought to be high enough to give the corporators a fair profit on the capital they have actually invested. But many of these corporations have issued large amounts of stock and mortgage bonds for which the holders have paid nothing, or much less than their nominal value. Another way of enlarging their apparent dimensions is to water their stock under the pretence of increasing their capital, while, in fact, the additional shares are divided among themselves without putting a new dollar into the business. Of course, nobody thinks that the real cost of the road is to be measured by the nominal amount of these bonds and shares. It is easy for a competent engineer to tell how much any road ought to cost, supposing the work to be honestly done and liberally paid for. That being ascertained, you

have the true basis of a calculation which will show how much the tolls ought to be. Most of our western roads were built with the proceeds of public lands granted mediately or immediately by the United States to the several companies which now have them in charge. They really did not cost the stockholders anything, and in some cases they got lands worth a great deal more than all expenses of making, stocking, and running the roads. The two companies between Omaha and San Francisco raised in cash out of government bonds, lands and mortgages of their franchises four or five times as much as they necessarily expended upon the roads. The stockholders, without paying anything, put the enormous surplus into their pockets. These roads, thus built at the public expense, and in some cases paid for by the public five times over, are now claimed as the private property of the companies, and the right of the public to use them as highways is utterly denied; nevertheless, I think the claim of these companies to take reasonable toll stands upon the same foundation as that of companies whose roads were built by the stockholders themselves at their own proper expense, that is to say, those companies which build the railroads with capital donated by the public have the same right as other companies to charge a reasonable toll, but their demand of excessive tolls, though not worse in law, seems in the eye of natural reason a greater outrage.

If railroad corporations have the unlimited power which they claim, then all business is at their mercy; agriculture, commerce, manufacturers must suffer what they choose to inflict. They may rob labor of the bread it wins, and deprive all enterprise of its just reward. Though this power does not belong to them legally, they have been permitted to usurp it, and I need not tell you that they have greatly abused it. They avow that they make their exactions with an eye single to their own advantage, without considering any right or interest of the public. They boldly express their determination to charge as much as the traffic will bear; that is to say, they will take from the profits of every man's business as much as can be taken without compelling him to quit it. In the aggregate this amounts to the most enormous, oppressive, and unjust tax that ever was laid upon the industry of any people under the sun. Men go into a business which may thrive at present rates, and will find themselves crushed by burdens unexpectedly thrown upon them after they get started. It is the habit of the railroad companies to change their rates of transportation often and suddenly, and in particular to make the charges ruinously high, without any notice at all. The farmers of the great west have made a large crop of grain, which they may sell at fair prices if they can have it carried to the eastern ports even at the unreasonable high freights of last summer. But just now it is said that the railway companies have agreed among themselves to raise the freight 5 cents per hundred weight, which is equal to an export tax upon the whole crop of probably \$75,000,000. The farmers must submit to this highway robbery or else keep the produce of their land to rot on their hands. They submit, of course, as all other classes of industrious people submit to similar impositions. Common justice imperatively requires that freight be fixed, settled, and prescribed by law, and that they be not changed at the mere will of the railroad companies. But the discriminations which make the rates unequal are the most odious feature. A grain dealer at Baltimore gets a reduction or drawback which is denied to others, and he makes a fortune for himself while he ruins his competitors by underselling them. A single mill at Rochester can stop the wheels of all the rest if its flour be carried at a rate much lower. By discrimination of this kind the profits of one coal mine may be quadrupled, while another, with all its fixtures and machinery, is rendered worthless. Such wrongs as these are done, not only in a few sporadic cases, but generally and habitually on a very large scale. Certain oil men, whose refinery was on Long Island, got rebates amounting to \$10,000,000 in eighteen months, and seventy-nine houses (I believe that is the number) engaged in the same business were broken up. The creditors of the Reading Railroad, having coal lands of their own, made discriminations between themselves and others which drove all competition out of the field, gave them the monopoly of the Philadelphia market, and enabled them to charge for their coal as they charged for their freight—whatever they pleased.

Thus, producers, dealers, and consumers all suffer together. The case you mention of \$4 from New York to Salt Lake, and only \$2.50 to San Francisco, is perhaps not the most unrighteous, but it is as gross a violation of legal principle as can be conceived. If the railways belong to the people, then the rights of all citizens are precisely equal, and all discriminations are unlawful. Without reference to the public right of property, they are so shamefully imperious in their gen-

eral effect and in their peculiar consequences that no well-governed State will endure them.

These railroad and transportation companies connect themselves with everything. The promotion of commerce, internal and foreign, the interest of buyer and seller, the rights of producer and consumer, the needs of the poor and the prosperity of the rich, all cry aloud for some system of management which will compel them to do the duties they owe to the public faithfully, at rates reasonable, fixed, uniform, and equal, without extortion, without wanton changes, without discrimination. The laws necessary for this purpose are not difficult to frame. If you will look at the constitution of Pennsylvania as amended in 1873, you will find in the seventeenth section a series of provisions which, if carried out and enforced, would be amply sufficient. But the railroad men and their advocates have managed to impress the Legislature with the idea that they are above the Constitution. They assert that every restriction imposed upon them in the interests of justice, equality, and fair dealing is a violation of the contract embodied in their charters. All this is no doubt very false doctrine, but they contrive in some way, I really do not know how, to make the State authorities accept it as true. I maintain that all the States have a clear and indefeasible right to protect their people against such wrongs, and to exercise the power as a sacred duty. When that duty is properly performed the internal trade of each State will cease to be enslaved and crippled as it is now. But the commerce between the States will still be open to inequalities and liable to oppression and plunder by transportation companies, unless the national legislature does something to save it. Congress has power "to regulate commerce between the States." Is it not strictly within the scope of that authority when it makes a law forbidding carriers through the State to injure, impede, or destroy the general trade of the country by extravagant and discriminating charges? If that be not a regulation of inter-state commerce what would be? The power being conceded, an effectual mode of righting the wrongs now complained of can easily be devised.

SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL BOARD OF SUPERVISION, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

All complaints, grievances and appeals, not adjustable by the Local, State or National Executive Committee, will be received and decided upon by this Board.

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The National Executive Committee recommends that all Sections order quantities of these tracts for free distribution, as their low price (about \$1.62 per thousand) makes them a desirable means of agitation.

SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

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Here we have the two parties nearly equally balanced; but an agent from one endeavors to persuade a "bilk" on the other to change sides for the drinks, dollars, or the prospects of office; or the agent may be a silver-tongued orator, skilled in making the worst appear the better reason. He may even be the candidate for the highest office in the nation, in the pay of public robbers. Threats, cajolery, misrepresentation and other means of blinding a few to the real issues will be freely used, because it is only necessary to influence a sufficient number of voters to *turn the scale*; so that, with no change of public opinions, the whole policy of a State or nation may be reversed; while, on the other hand, a most radical change in public opinion may, by the same means, be prevented from affecting the result of an election. If one political party cannot be utilized for the purposes of rich monopolists and unprincipled schemers, another will be; and the means above indicated will be freely used to turn the scale, not only at the polls, but at the clubs and nominating conventions.

If our present systems of labor, land, finance, and above all, of politics, are continued, this nation will become a *second China*, with its infanticides, its tortures, its taminers and its vices. We can only prevent this result by making our representation

JUST, NATURAL AND, COMPLETE.

Meanwhile, until this is done, the people are *not morally bound by constitutions, laws, bonds or contracts* in the making of which they have, in fact, had no share. Mark this point well, and circulate.

Send seven three-cent stamps (free to those who will investigate, but can't pay) for my thirty-two page pamphlet ("Voting not Representation") for details and outline of the *future damnation of North America*, that must follow persistence in present political systems, and of the only effective remedies.

This tract should be sown *broad-cast*, and will therefore be furnished at bare cost of press-work and paper—\$2 per 1,000; postage, \$1.25. ALFRED CRIDGE, San Francisco, Cal.

MEMBERSHIP.

Any person who acknowledges the Platform, Constitution and Resolutions of the National and State Conventions of the party, and who renounces allegiance to all other political parties or organizations whose principles and requirements conflict with those of the Socialistic Labor Party, may become a member.

In localities where no sections of the party exist, persons may join the party by sending their names and addresses, with dues for three months (30 cents), to the National Corresponding Secretary in Detroit, Mich. Cards of membership will then be issued, and as soon as ten such members (three-fourths of whom must be wage-workers) are gained in the same city or town, they will be notified, and will then organize themselves into a section by the election, by majority vote, of an Organizer, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Financial Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Auditing Committee of two members.

THE LABOR PRESS.

Our National Executive Committee recommends the following newspapers to the consideration and support of Workingmen and Socialists generally:

- "New Yorker Volks Zeitung," (German), Daily, and Weekly. Address P. O. Box 3560, New York, N. Y.
- "Philadelphia Tageblatt," (German), Daily and Weekly. Address, 613 Callowhill Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
- "Delnicko Listy," (Bohemian), Daily and Weekly. Address, 135 E. Fourth street, New York, N. Y.
- "California Frie Presse," Weekly, San Francisco.
- "La Jeune Icarie," (French), Monthly. Address, Corning, Iowa.
- "La Revue Icarienne," (French), Monthly. Address, Corning, Iowa.
- "Press of the Co-Operative Colonization Movement."
- "The Communist." Address, A. Longley, St. Louis, Mo.
- "Press of the Trade Union Movement."
- "Socialistic Greenback Labor Papers."
- "The Irish World and American Industrial Liberator," (Weekly). Address, No. 10 Spruce street, New York, N. Y.
- "The Tablet," 193 Clark street, Chicago, Ill.
- "American Workman," Springfield, Ill.

PLATFORM

OF THE

SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

Labor being the creator of all wealth, through and by it alone is organized society and civilization possible. It rightfully follows that those who labor and create all wealth are the most important part of society, and hence should enjoy the full results of their toil; and we declare

That a just and equitable distribution of the fruits of labor is utterly impossible under the present system of society. This fact is abundantly illustrated by the deplorable condition of the working classes, who are in a state of destitution and degrading dependence in the midst of their own productions. While the hardest and most disagreeable work brings to the worker only the bare necessities of life, others, who labor not at all, riot in labor's production and everything that wealth can purchase; and we declare

That the present industrial system of competition causes and intensifies this inequality, concentrating into the hands of a few all means of production, distribution and the results of labor, thus creating gigantic monopolies dangerous to the people's liberties; and we further declare

That these monster monopolies and these extremes of rich and poor are the natural outgrowths of the industrial system, supported by class legislation, and are subversive of all democracy, injurious to the national interests and destructive of all truth and morality. This state of affairs continued and upheld by the now ruling political parties, is against the welfare of the people, and as the emancipation of the working classes must be achieved by the working classes themselves, it now becomes their duty to unite as a powerful labor party to free themselves from all forms of tyranny and an unjust system.

For these reasons the Socialistic Labor Party has been founded, and in order to ameliorate the condition of the working people under the present system, we present the following platform and demands:

The material condition of the working people in all civilized countries is identical and results from the same causes, consequently the struggle for the emancipation of labor is international and naturally cooperative and mutual.

The wages system has become destructive of the highest interests of mankind, and to abolish this system, with a view to establish cooperative production and to secure equitable distribution we demand that the resources of life, the means of production, public transportation and exchange, become as fast as practicable, the public property of the people under administration of the government

DEMANDS.

- 1st. Entire revision of the United States Constitution so as to institute direct popular legislation, and enable the people to propose or reject any law at their will, and thus secure self-government.
 - 2nd. The right of suffrage shall in no wise be abridged.
 - 3d. Political equality before the law, of all citizens, without regard to creed, race or sex.
 - 4th. The establishment of a national ministry of labor.
 - 5th. All conspiracy laws operating against the rights of workingmen must be repealed.
 - 6th. Congress shall provide for the immediate creation of a national bureau of labor statistics.
 - 7th. The rigid enforcement of the eight hour law on all public works. We also demand an amendment to the Constitution of the United States declaring eight hours a legal work day in all industrial employments.
 - 8th. All uncultivated lands shall be taxed equally with cultivated lands in the same locality.
 - 9th. The government alone shall issue all money, and such right should not be delegated to any banking or private corporation.
- The Socialistic Labor Party struggles to carry out the following measures in those States where they are not now the law:
- 1st. State bureaux of labor statistics.
 - 2d. Eight hours as a legal working day, and strict punishment of all violators.
 - 3d. Abolition of the system of hiring out by contract the labor of convicts in prisons and reformatory institutions.
 - 4th. Strict laws making employers liable for all accidents resulting from their negligence to the injury of their employes.
 - 5th. Entire legal restriction of the labor of children under fourteen years of age.
 - 6th. Universal compulsory education; all schooling material to be furnished at public expense.
 - 7th. Factory, mine and workshop inspection, and sanitary supervision of all food and dwellings.
 - 8th. All wages shall be paid in the legal tender of the land, and violations of this law must be punished.
 - 9th. All ballots to be printed by town and city governments. Ballots containing the names of all candidates for public office to be sent to all voters two days before each election, and all election days to be legal holidays.
 - 10th. All property, whether used for religious or secular purposes, to bear its just proportion of taxation.

RESOLUTIONS.

1st—*Resolved*. We favor the organization of national and international trade and labor unions for the protection of workingmen, and advise our members to assist and join them, and that in resisting aggressive capital we give to labor, exploited under whatever form, our full sympathy, and according to our means, our material support.

2nd. *Resolved*. All so-called tramp laws punishing unemployed workingmen as tramps are unconstitutional and inhuman, as poverty is thereby made a crime, therefore we demand their repeal.

WHEREAS, Twenty-two different railroad corporations have failed to comply with the conditions under which they have received land grants aggregating over 125,000,000 acres, comprising an area of territory larger than nearly a dozen States, and

WHEREAS, Millions of the citizens of the United States are struggling for a bare existence, unable to procure homes and a competence, and

WHEREAS, Said railroad land grants would furnish farms of fifty acres to over five million of our citizens, therefore be it

RESOLVED, We call upon the Representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States to revoke the charters of these railroad corporations and reclaim the land granted under them for the exclusive use, benefit and occupancy of the people.

WHEREAS, The so-called Democrats (landlords) of the South have joined hands with the so-called Republicans (capitalists) of the North; and

WHEREAS, This combination of the wealthy men, both North and South is made for the sole purpose of destroying the liberties of the common people of both sections of our country; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we urge the working people of the South, regardless of color, to unite with their brothers of the North against the attempts of the ruling classes to further impoverish and enslave them by depriving them of the possession and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor.